1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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133 in the east. To the southeast of central Bali lies the arid island Nusa Pĕnida, which the Balinese simply call Nusa, 'the island'. At the extreme southern point of Bali is a limestone peninsula which the early Dutch named the Varkenshoek, or 'pig's point', and the Balinese speak of as Bukit, 'the hill'.

To the north of the mountain range lies the region of Buleleng, for the southern Balinese Den Bukit, 'the land north of the mountains'. The narrow coastal strip, which quickly merges into steep foothills, is closed off to the west by the region of Cape Pulaki, the realm of the Invisible Ones of Pulaki, for a traditional Bulelengese the end of his world. Only since a decade ago has [491] there been a roadway going past Pulaki to the west. In Buleleng the mountains run down close to the sea, creating a sharp contrast. The contrast in central Bali is less sharp, but there also the mountain chain dominates the whole highlands and from many a place in the mountains one can see the Indian Ocean glistening in the sun.

The easternmost region of Bali, Karangasĕm, lies to the northeast, east, and south of Gunung Agung, hence for the most part outside the mountain range. Politically it was sometimes oriented more towards the island of Lombok, lying to the east of it, than towards central Bali. Most of the earlier Balinese overlords on Lombok stemmed from Karangasĕm, and the same is probably also true of the Balinese colonists there. In 1930 the Balinese community on Lombok numbered a bit under thirty thousand [161] five hundred persons.[2] For 1948 the figure of forty thousand has been given.[3]

133 491 Not only Jĕmbrana was isolated in the old days: contacts between central Bali and the land north of the mountains were also difficult. Moreover the lay of the land in the central Balinese highlands is such that it is easier to travel from south to north than from east to west. Roads and paths from the southern coast northwards are fairly straight and unobstructed, mounting gradually at first, and then at a sharper incline. But if one goes, for example, to the northeast or the northwest from Den Pasar (the chief town in southern Bali, located on the southern spur of the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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island), the road makes its way from one ravine to another in many twists and turns. It was no doubt partly as a result of this topography that no central authority was ever able to maintain itself on Bali with ease. The central Balinese highlands were traditionally divided into five practically independent principalities lying side by side: Tabanan, Měngwi (which was vanquished and gobbled up by its neighbours in 1891), Badung, Gianyar, and Klungkung.

Bali was known of old for its rather inaccessible coasts. There were only a few good places for ships to lie at anchor, and the peninsula of Bukit seems to have been a dangerous point to circumnavigate.

2

The People of Bali

There are no recent detailed demographic data for Bali. For such figures one must go back to the last census held in Indonesia, that of 1930. In the 1954 registration for the general elections the concern was of course only to obtain certain general figures regarding the number of Indonesian citizens on the island. Unfortunately the figures are not completely comparable to those for 1930. The census gave the total number of inhabitants, broken down according to country of origin, whereas the 1954 figures give the total number of inhabitants of Indonesian origin plus the number (not yet made available) of others, Asians and Europeans, who had become Indonesian citizens.

The figures for 1954 for the separate regions and for Bali as a whole[4] are given in Table 1, with those for 1930 added for purposes of comparison.[5]

Table 2 gives a few figures for the whole island in 1920[6] and 1930 as regards population groups.

The total population of Indonesian origin can be broken down according to ethnic origin into Balinese and Indonesians from elsewhere; the Balinese, in turn, can be broken down according to religion into 'Bali Hindu' (the term for the adherents of the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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TABLE 1: THE POPULATION OF BALI PER REGION, 1930 AND 1954

Region	1954					1930	
	<18	18+	Total	Density (per square mile)		Total	Density (per square mile)
Buleleng	113,888	144,838	258,726	307		170,638	334
Jembrana	48,307	51,920	98,227	302		47,161	148
Tabanan	101,056	138,185	239,181	727		177,166	544
Badung	106,694	148,728	255,422	1,092		198,992	976
Gianyar	88,253	123,539	211,792	1,491		164,422	1,173
Bangli	52,067	54,973	107,040	583	685	158,026	490
Klungkung	52,552	64,570	117,122	881			
Karangasem	100,183	131,348	231,531	696		190,888	585
Bali	662,980	858,061	*1,519,041*	700		*1,101,393*	*514*

TABLE 2: THE POPULATION OF BALI PER POPULATION GROUP, 1920 AND 1930

Population Group	1920	1930
Indonesians	940,777	1,092,057
Chinese	5,446	7,629
Other non-Indonesian Asians	767	1,324
Europeans	243	405
Total	*947,233*	*1,101,393*

island's traditional religion) and the Balinese who have become Moslems, the 'Bali Islam'. The figures for the two in 1920 and 1930, and those for the non-Balinese Indonesian population of the island, are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP ON BALI, 1920 AND 1930

Group	1920		1930	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	920,394	97.84	1,062,885	97.33
Bali Islam	13,027	1.38	16,992	1.56
Indonesians from elsewhere	7,356	0.78	12,160	1.11
Total	*940,777*	*100.00*	*1,092,037*	*100.00*

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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241 According to official data 1,434 square miles of land, or close to
311 70 per cent. of Bali's surface, was under cultivation in 1948. Of that area 26 per cent. consisted of wet ricefields, 41 per cent. of non-irrigated fields (about one-third of them planted with maize, one-third with beans and tubers, and one-seventh with rice), 7 per cent. of coffee gardens, and 17 per cent. of coconut groves. By far the largest complex of *sawahs* is in the central Balinese highlands, where it covers an important part of the present regions of Tabanan, Badung, Gianyar, and Klungkung. In the other regions the *sawah* area is considerably smaller. The mountainous Bangli has *sawahs* only at its southern point, Karangasĕm and Jĕmbrana each have a *sawah* belt around their regional capitals, and Buleleng has two *sawah* areas, one around the administrative seat and one in the stretch to the northwest of the Batu Kau.

Figures on the farmland available in 1948 and comparative data on the relative density of population are given in Table 6.

161 TABLE 6: DENSITY OF POPULATION ON BALI PER REGION IN COM-
241 PARISON TO FARMLAND AVAILABLE, 1950
311

Region	*Total Area (in square miles)*	*Population (1950)*	*Sawah Acreage (1948)*	*Dry-Field Acreage (1948)*	*Inhabitants per Square Mile of Farmland*
Buleleng	510	229,870	34,429	151,297	798
Jĕmbrana	325	63,153 (?)	15,016	71,095	469 (?)
Tabanan	329	238,320	62,198	110,847	881
Badung	209½	259,980	47,752	60,119	1,536
Gianyar	142	221,490	39,022	34,235	1,932
Bangli	201	100,010	7,937	72,512	795
Klungkung	121½	113,870	11,952	48,610	1,207
Karangasĕm	332½	257,130	19,975	130,800	1,080
Bali	*2,170½*	*1,484,043*	*238,261*	*679,313*	*1,233*

Table 7 gives figures on the net yields from agriculture for 1953. These few figures[14] are perhaps enough to indicate the importance of agriculture, and in particular wet-rice farming.

241 The latter is, in fact, mentioned even in very old royal edicts.
312 One of them dating from 1022 refers to the irrigation association as *kĕsuwakan*, a term related to the Modern Balinese word for

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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792
161
651
361

TABLE 1: THE PĒMAKSAN OF THE MOUNTAIN SANCTUARIES AT TINGAN AND BON

Pēmākšan	*Dusa*	*Number of Inhabitants*	*Number of Road-Tax Payers*
Pēlagn	Pēlagn	270	56
	Klyadan	300	89
	Bukian	300	50
	Nungning	350	58
Bēlok	Bēlok	280	45
	Lawak	260	39
	Bon	250	88
	Sēkarmukti	230	96
	Jēmpanang	210	85
Sidan	Sidan	400	83
	Sēlantang	130	27
	Pēnikit	110	18
Tlingan	Sēmanik	300	47
	Tlingan	480	78
	Tinggan	190	28
	Auman	380	61

area, since on the death of the functionary at Bēlok it proved impossible to find a capable replacement.

The group of persons responsible for the care of the temple in the strict sense consists of the core villagers (*kĕrama dasa*) of the sixteen villages, that is to say those people working a part of the communal village lands. This does not mean that the other inhabitants of the villages do not take part in the cult of the temples; also non-core villagers go without fail to the temples with their offerings on holy days to present them and pay homage to the deity, but they do so as individuals rather than as members of a group.

Nor is it only the inhabitants of the four *pĕrbĕkĕlans* who present offerings and make their devotions. Everyone who feels the urge to do so may participate, though the usage is restricted to persons who recognize a certain tie with the former principality of Mĕngwi, whether as an individual or as a member of a certain family. According to local informants it frequently happens that even people now living in other regions take part in ceremonies at the two mountain sanctuaries.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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paid labour and the relation of boss to coolie are reduced to a minimum in Bali. Since the world of a Balinese is his community, he is anxious to prove his worth, for his own welfare is in direct relation to his social behaviour and his communal standing. Moral sanctions are regarded as stronger than physical punishment, and no one will risk the dreaded punishment of exile from the village, when a man is publicly declared "dead" to his community. Once "thrown away," he cannot be admitted into another of the co-operative villages, so no misfortune could be greater to the Balinese than public disgrace. This makes of every village a closely unified organism in which the communal policy is harmony and co-operation – a system that works to everybody's advantage.

By their ingenuity and constant activity they have raised their main occupation, the cultivation of rice, to levels unsurpassed by other rice-growing nations. Being essentially agriculturists, they are not interested in navigation and trade; living the easy life of the tropics, they are satisfied and well fed. The majority work the land for themselves, so they have not yet become wage-earners and have enough freedom and leisure left to dedicate to spiritual relaxation. They are extraordinarily fond of music, poetry, and dancing, which have produced a remarkable theatre. Their culture, unlike that of their cultural ancestors, the Javanese, is not yet in frank decline. Even the common people are better agriculturists, better craftsmen and artists than the average Javanese. The Balinese are by no means a primitive people.

Moreover, unlike the natives of the South Seas and similar races under white domination, the Balinese are not a dying people; far from that, in the last ten years a constant increase in the birth-rate has been recorded. The 1930 census gave the population of Bali as 1,148,000 people, or about 500 to the square mile, an enormous figure when compared with the 41 per square mile of the United States. This includes the foreign population: 7,935 Chinese, 1,544 Arabs and other Mohammedans, and 411 Europeans, of which only a small percentage are

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agă to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabă,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabă are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desă, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desă has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabă means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabă caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

dj	is pronounced as j in jam	(djabă)
j	is pronounced as y in yam	(wajan)
nj	is pronounced as ny in canyon	(njoman)
tj	is pronounced as ch in chew	(tjenik)
oe	is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put	(doestă, ketoet)
e	is short unless accented, as in French	(ketoet, madé, metèn)
i	is pronounced as ee in deep	(bibi)
	or as i in tick	(tjenik)
a	is pronounced as in father	(djabă)
final ă	is pronounced as the final a in America	(djabă)

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there were too many such groups, that they made for conflict, for a decrease in valuable public activities, and led to a kind of individualism. "The seka got rich, but the bandjar got poor." Thus all the sixteen hamlets decided at once to institute the kliran system and to ban voluntary organizations for all important functions. And when the Dutch left in 1941 the ruling family further intensified its efforts to strengthen the status system which had also been weakened in the general move toward a less organic society, producing the present pattern of organization. Territorialism in Blaju is thus not a simple survival from the distant past, but the outcome of the interaction between traditional values and the quite untraditional events of the twentieth century.

In such a system integrative strains are likely to appear across caste lines, and despite all the bowing and scraping one sees in Blaju, Sudra resentment against Triwangsa domination is quite evident. When a small Sudra dadia of Sunguhu which traditionally has the right to patronize priests appointed from among its own members rather than Brahmana ones, attempted to institute this system in Blaju a few years ago, they were expelled from their hamlet under intense Triwangsa pressure on the basis of "injuring local custom and denigrating the upper castes." Despite heavy pressures from the central bureaucracy and some local sympathy for the rebels, the Blaju upper castes held firm and the Sunguhu ultimately capitulated. But irrespective of such strains, Blaju is rather more tightly knit than most Balinese villages: all the 1500 families were members of a single national political party, and one of the few really effective consumer-producer cooperatives in Bali was located in Blaju, its effectiveness being mainly attributable to the fact that it, too, had 100 per cent membership.

SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Of the many theoretical issues growing out of the analysis of Balinese village organization, among the most interesting are those centering around questions of typology. Typologizing has always been a central concern of social anthropology because both descriptive simplicity and comparative generalization rest on the possibility of summarizing social organizations in terms of constructs at once ethnographically circumstantial and formally distinctive. Whatever their shortcomings from more sophisticated theoretical perspectives, such types as "The Indian Village," "The Chinese State," or "The Nuer Kinship System" (to say nothing of "Peasant Society," or "Segmentary Social Organization," which are perhaps best seen as second order types of types) seem essential to comparative analysis of even the most rudimentary sort. But the Balinese case, in which this methodologically fundamental task of discriminating wood from trees seems unusually difficult of accomplishment, suggests that some of the assumptions underlying our usual typologizing procedures may be in need of revision. Particularly, and perhaps paradoxically, they suggest that clues to the typologically essential may as often lie in rare or unique phenomena as they do in common or typical ones; that essential form

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

by ad hoc considerations which save the rule, but as providing valuable further clarification of the basic principles of social organization. From Njalian's criss-crossing structure we learn that the various component planes are to a very large degree independent of one another; from Tihingan we learn how the Balinese kinship system works when given full play and how the other planes then adapt to its dominance; from Blaju we learn what increased territorialism and a stress on caste imply for social integration. Each case we confront reveals something new about the implicit potentialities of the typological model we are constructing, sets new bounds on the range of variation possible within it; and it does so mainly not in terms of what is common but rather of what is unusual about it. In the same way that Cromwell has been adjudged the most typical Englishman of his time on the simple basis of his having been the oddest, so the general typological significance of any particular Balinese village lies primarily in its idiosyncracies.

NOTES

[1] The field work upon which this study is based was carried out from August 1957 to July 1958, with a three month break from January to March 1958, under a grant from the social sciences section of the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am indebted to my research assistant E. Rukasah of the Fakultas Pertanian in Bogor, Indonesia, and to my wife Hildred Geertz for significant contributions to this study. This paper was written during a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Center for their criticism and comments on earlier drafts. For general views of Balinese culture, see Bateson and Mead (1942), Covarrubias (1936) and Korn (1936).

[2] For a more detailed description of Balinese temple forms, see Covarrubias (1936).

[3] A Balinese temple festival is described in detail in Belo (1953).

[4] It is also a legal community in that all the people in a single Kahyangan-Tiga congregation follow the same general rules regarding hamlet membership, marriage, inheritance, cooperative work, etc., rules which differ in detail from Kahyangan-Tiga group to Kahyangan-Tiga group. Sometimes this law community is headed by a Bendesa Adat, or customary law chief, who gives advice and direction on problems of custom. But, again, it is only in the odd case that this customary law community happens to coincide with a concrete political community.

[5] Total Balinese population for 1954 is estimated at 1,500,000, with a mean density around 700 per square mile. In the thickly settled areas of South Bali densities reach up over 1,500 per square mile (Raka 1955).

[6] In the Tabanan area balé are lacking in most hamlets, meetings being held in the open air beneath a banyan tree or in a temple courtyard.

[7] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see Covarrubias (1936).

[8] Only a minority of Sudra, considered to have higher prestige than the mass because of former affinal or political ties to higher status groups, have true address and reference titles. Most Sudra have no address title at all.

[9] In most Balinese villages, marriage is preferentially within the dadia and, if possible, with the father's brother's daughter.

[10] Economic specialization by village still persists to some degree in Bali, and is another factor to be considered in a full analysis of variation in Balinese village structure. It has been ignored here in favor of more formal considerations only for the sake of simplicity.

[11] The only time it has threatened to get completely out of bounds was at the time of the Indonesian general elections in 1955 when each of the two factions went armed in fear of massacre by the other, but no actual violence occurred.

[12] There is a third approach to typologizing, which is particularly prevalent in Dutch studies